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Brave the soldier is, I grant, and worthy of applause;
 But there's other bravery than on the battlefield.
 Brave is he who stands by what he deems a righteous cause,
 And, in spite of jeers, abuse and slander, will not yield.
 Higher than your prejudice, your passion, or your greed,
 Higher than your savage lust for conquest or for war,
 Higher than your petty standards and your narrow creed,
 Stands the precious law of love, supreme forevermore.
 Christ or Cæsar? God or Mammon? Which one shall it be?
 Greed and murder, hate and conquest, or the Lord's command?
 Ancient lies that bound us, or the truth that makes us free?
 Underneath which flag, my brother, will you take your stand?

Coming Days.

BY EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

"Rise, O days, from your fathomless deeps, till you loftier, fiercer sweep."—*Whitman*.
 Rise, O days, from your fathomless deeps, till you loftier, fiercer sweep!
 Rise, O days of the past, from your graves in the depth of oblivion deep!
 Rise, O days yet to be, and ascend; ascend in the sight of mankind
 Till the pulse of your power shall thrill — ecstatic'ly thrill us, so blind,
 With the vision of peoples released from the thralldom of Greed and of Fear,
 With millennium days. Oh, rejoice when the Justice of Man shall appear!
 Rise, O days, from your fathomless deeps, till you loftier, fiercer sweep!
 Rise, O days, till you sweep from our sight present days when the weak must weep,
 Present days of delirious joys — joys built on the woes of the race;
 Sweep, in your God-sent fierceness, sweep! and blot out all these signs of disgrace;
 These indelible stains of the poor and the sick unrelieved!
 Oh, haste!
 Haste, ye days of the Justice of Man, and give us of heaven foretaste.
 Mine eyes have seen the rising of the days of vengeance, dread,
 When the stroke of the avenger falls, and dead are piled on dead —
 And earth is made a charnel house, as now 'tis house of woe.
 (E'en though the dancers laugh and sing, they are aware 'tis so.)
 Stern Death is hast'ning on!
 Mine eyes have seen the hast'ning of the Great Destroyer, grim,
 Who'll overturn War's chalice, which is filled beyond the brim,
 And drown the world that takes the sword in blood which they have spilt,
 And add the bitterness of tears shed for a nation's guilt.
 Lo, life's advancing now!
 Mine eyes have seen th' advancing of a new and God-like race
 To soon supplant the one that now knows not Love's peaceful face;
 A race of men and women strong to right the wrongs of all,
 And rev'rently to bow the head; advance where Truth may call:
 Lo, God is with men then!

The Dangers of Patriotism.

BY X. A. P.

Much as patriotism has been talked about, shouted about and bled over, it has, curiously enough, received almost no serious study. Few people, in the face of the tirade of abuse raised against any one venturing to question its supreme virtuousness and right to command, have had the courage to make, and attach their names to, a critical examination of its nature and worth. Most of the monographs on the subject have been of a compromising character, where they have not been mere laudatory rhetoric. Exceptions have certainly existed; but the few opponents of patriotism as ordinarily understood have for the most part stopped short of anything like a critical study, and have satisfied themselves with simple denunciation. Even Tolstoy, whose total rejection of patriotism as essentially and always an evil is well known, does not seem to have gone deeply into the nature of the subject, but has taken the immense mischiefs resulting from current patriotism as sufficient evidence that what is commonly called by that name is all that is possible in the way of patriotism.

"Patriotism and Ethics,"* by John George Godard, just published in London by Grant Richards, meets, therefore, a real need. It is one of the works which has been brought into existence by the South African War. But it treats of the war only incidentally, by way of illustration. It is an examination of the whole subject of patriotism, both theoretically and practically, from the point of view of current ethics. The author's aim seems to be to bring about such transformation in opinion as to the character of patriotism as will hereafter prevent a repetition of a great number of wrongs which have heretofore been wrought in its name. He states his case fairly, and does not misrepresent the positions which he criticises. His treatment is vigorous, thorough and practically exhaustive, except that in his final chapter on "The Higher Ideal" he seems to fail to reach the truest and most satisfactory conclusion as to the final disposition which is to be made of patriotism.

As a definition of patriotism he accepts "love of country" or "pride of nationality" (not at all synonymous terms) as simplest and least liable to objection. A simpler and truer phrasing would be "natural attachment to country." The sentiment in itself as sentiment is, in his view, neither virtuous nor vicious, that is, has no moral character. Its character depends entirely upon the way in which it is used. This fundamental estimate he does not quite retain at the last, but seems to reach the conclusion that the sentiment is only capable of resulting in viciousness, whereas he ought to have seen that a sentiment which is not intrinsically bad is capable of serving as a basis for good.

In the chapter on "Patriotism and the Down Grade" Mr. Godard points out how its exclusiveness, which he considers "of the essence of the sentiment," starts patriotism on the down grade. It "erects barriers between different sections of the great human family, and establishes a kind of national caste. Considered in regard to the world as a whole, it is anti-social. It introduces a

* *Patriotism and Ethics*. By John George Godard. London: Grant Richards. 12mo, cloth. 373 pages.

discriminating factor, and thus has the effect of dwarfing sympathy." The assumption that patriotism is essentially exclusive seems hardly in accord with his allowance that "there is a legitimate field for it," so long as men continue to be grouped together in nationalities. For in social affairs of this nature, that which is essentially exclusive can never be right.

Its exclusiveness, he goes on to say, leads in its first stage to international distrust. Nations, even if honest, do not get credit for their honesty. The distrust passes "by easy downward gradations to contempt and intolerance, and to arrogance and deceit." "Patriotism blinds the eyes both to the merits of other nations and the demerits of one's own, and therefore deprives international conduct of the advantages which flow from wholesome criticism." "The result can only be moral deterioration. Intolerance and conceit are not less despicable in a nation than in individuals, and are generally more mischievous."

The next stage reached in the downward course is that "of jealousy and envy, and anon of hatred and revenge." "Probably it would be difficult to name any power which does not on the whole cordially hate at least one other power, and possibly more than one." "The patriotic flame is never fiercer than when fed by hatred, and the fraternity which is identified with patriotism is largely of that barbaric character which springs from a common enmity." "Patriotism can never accept a rebuff, and it never forgives an injury." How true all this is of the selfish, sentimental patriotism of the day which reigns and blusters everywhere! The author holds that war is ethically justifiable when and only "when it is purely defensive and when it is purely remedial" (cases of which kind of war would be as difficult to find as needles in haystacks). Patriotism, on the contrary, "justifies all war, and justifies it to each of the combatants." "My patriotism declares my country's cause just; my enemy's patriotism declares his country's cause just. And, patriotism being regarded as a virtuous sentiment, the battlefield presents the astounding spectacle of immorality doing its very worst in the name of morality!"

Mr. Godard then discusses all the pacific efforts—in the way of diplomatic investigation, arbitration, etc.—which nations are under obligation to make before going to war. If they do not discharge these obligations, "which their own ethical code clearly imposes," "then they are in fact debasing themselves to the level of the veriest savages." "Terribly pernicious is the influence of patriotism in connection with international disputes; for the distinct obligations which ethics enjoins rarely receive more than scant recognition." "Pride of nationality not only militates against strenuous efforts to avert war, but it often induces strenuous efforts to provoke war. To demonstrate one's country's power, and to make its enemies lick the dust, is the supreme gratification of the patriotic spirit." "Patriotism seems to be largely fed on lies, and to swallow them with avidity." "Patriotism is the parent of war,—and it is the parent of unjust war. It induces a total disregard of the ethical duties imposed upon a nation before declaring or provoking war, and it thus instigates to the capital crime of civilization."

As illustrating the manner in which the author contends that patriotism leads to the ignoring of the Christianity which so many nations profess, one passage from the chapter on "Patriotism and Christianity" will suffice:

"There is no injunction which the Founder of Christianity laid down, there is no rule of conduct which he enunciated, which is not disregarded—nay oftentimes tabooed and ridiculed—if mentioned in connection with international politics. Which of the nations has yet inscribed upon the walls of its Foreign Office the commandment 'Love your enemies'? and with what sneers and merriment would the suggestion of such an inscription be received? Where is the country that has sought to merit the title of 'children of God' by persistently recognizing that the peacemakers are blessed? And is it Great Britain which is poor in spirit? And is it by meekness that she has managed to acquire more than eleven million square miles of the earth's surface? We might extend the catechism until it exhausted the injunctions of the Great Teacher, and we should find that not one of such injunctions was made the basis of international conduct; and that men who profess to be Christians, when acting collectively totally disregard the principles they profess, in their attitude towards other collective bodies."

The influence of patriotism on liberty Mr. Godard holds, in a subsequent chapter, to be no less baneful. It "not only rends ethics and religion, but it exhibits suicidal tendencies, and turns and rends itself." It leads to bigoted intolerance of minorities; to suppression of freedom of speech, as illustrated in the recent breaking up of meetings in England. It "ultimately lands its enthusiastic worshippers in bondage and anarchy." "My country, may she always be in the right, but my country right or wrong,—unless a man is prepared to subscribe to this monstrous doctrine, let him be anathema, maranatha; for the unpardonable sin is the sin against patriotism. He must not think his country wrong, or, if he do, he must at least play the hypocrite and abstain from saying so. And if he decline to recognize in the *vox populi* the *vox Dei*, if he venture to think his country is not infallible, if he dare to say that she is in the wrong, and if he try to recall her to the path of rectitude, then let him be silenced at all cost; for patriotism must be vindicated though the heavens should fall." That this is a true description of the extremes to which patriotism goes, all the time thinking that it is acting nobly, everybody knows. But what is this but exalting it above ethics, above religion, above liberty, above right, above God, and making it the supreme Lord of life and conduct?

Patriotism cannot, therefore, promote the general welfare of the country. It "has very little to say upon home affairs." It devotes itself almost exclusively to foreign affairs. "When patriotism is in the ascendancy, and when the nation is absolutely impregnated with it, purely internal affairs are almost forgotten, and all reform is practically suspended." "The people clamor for bread, and patriotism gives them a stone. If they lack sustenance, it offers them glory. If they demand reform, it points to empire. If they seek prosperity, it deludes them with prestige."

The author believes that the fundamental reason why patriotism subverts ethics and results in so many and great evils is the error of regarding it as necessarily virtuous. If that is the case, then there is no way of escaping its evil consequences. "As the inevitable result of such a misconception, patriotism is elevated into a moral standard; and it is therefore taken for granted

that, in obeying its dictates, men are obeying the dictates of virtue; and the vicious conduct which it actually induces is thus positively regarded as virtuous."

The author examines in order the claims that patriotism is virtuous, because it fosters self-sacrifice, advances liberty, builds up empire, promotes culture, and advances civilization. He finds that the self-sacrifice induced by patriotism is often made for ignoble ends, that it is caused by a spirit of hatred, revenge or conquest, in which cases it cannot be virtuous. "If the animating sentiment is a desire to 'pot niggers,' to 'exterminate vermin,' to 'wipe something off the slate,' to make the enemy 'sing psalms out of the wrong side of his mouth,' or to 'drive his cant down his throat with a dose of lyddite and three inches of bayonet to keep it there,' the conduct is *ab initio* immoral." Even where patriotism leads to altruism, the altruism is necessarily restricted, as the result of reflex egoism, and therefore in a true sense tainted with selfishness. Pure altruism is unrestricted.

Of patriotism as a promoter of liberty and culture and civilization, he does not find much to say. These are for the most part the result of other motives. "In practice patriotism is antagonistic to general liberty. The true conception of liberty involves the idea of reciprocity—the enjoyment by others of the same freedom which is claimed for oneself." "The exclusive nature of the sentiment dominates all the sentiments that spring from it; and exclusiveness is foreign to the true conception of liberty. The influence of patriotism in extending and consolidating empire is in the main anything but good. "Empire is the outcome of conquest,—the conquest of other races, the appropriation of their territory and the destruction of their independence." As for culture, "the tendency is for patriotism to arrest the growth of culture. Patriotic fervor, when brought into full play, acts like a scorching sun, and the arid atmosphere is not congenial to the arts and sciences. Periods of excitement and passion are not favorable to the development of either beauty or research."

The conclusion of this very able book, in which the immoralities and immense crimes of current patriotism are developed with extraordinary insight and precision, and with ample illustration, is that it is hopeless to attempt to divert patriotism from the evil channels in which it runs, and impossible to utilize it simply for moral ends. Even if we could divert patriotism into an ethical groove, he thinks nothing would be gained. Love of humanity includes love of country, as the greater the less; and the cultivation of love of humanity will bring about the achievement of all and more than that of country can do. "The ideal which shall inspire men to strive to make the world better must be of an infinitely broader and nobler character than that of patriotism. It must be an ideal which shall be based, not upon the locality of birth, but upon the fact of birth; not upon geography, but upon anthropology; not upon racial affinities, but upon human affinities; not upon what is peculiar to a nation, but upon what is common to nations."

Is it not true, nevertheless, that when this noble ideal possesses a man and rules his thought and life perfectly, attachment to one's land, "love of country," will still

exist, though in an altogether new way? Is it not possible, therefore, to so direct the attachment to country, which as natural sentiment has no moral character, so as to make it virtuous? Cannot citizens imbued with this natural attachment be led, first, to use their utmost efforts to keep the nation from all wrong and to induce it to be righteous and just in all its dealings with other nations; and, secondly, to feel it to be its duty to give itself self-sacrificingly in the service and for the good of others? Certainly. And in this way patriotism, like a young child, who has not yet begun a moral course of bad or good, may be saved from becoming an immoral, lawless, unchristian, ruinous thing, as it to such a large extent is, and trained and developed into one of the purest and loftiest and most constructive of virtues.

This is where Mr. Godard's grand discussion ought, according to his own premises, to have terminated, and one is distinctly disappointed, on closing the book, that it did not do so. The vicious patriotism which is current everywhere he splendidly condemns and casts out, but he seems not to have seen the possibility of a virtuous and every way noble one, which would in no wise retard, but powerfully aid, the growth of the ideal love of fellow-creatures everywhere.

To His Majesty, Victor Emanuel III., King of Italy.

The address of the Lombard Peace Union to the young King of Italy on his recent visit to Milan, alluded to in our last issue, was so admirable in spirit and contents that, though in one or two particulars it does not represent our position, we give a translation of it in full.

Among the various utterances that will come to you on your first visit to this city, rich in trade, illustrious through its former exhibitions of indomitable patriotism and in which the struggle of parties is most intense, be pleased, Sire, to accept the wishes of a Society which lives outside of parties, but whose aspirations answer the greatest needs of our time and find a sympathetic echo among every civilized people.

Our Society has in its ranks men of different political and religious opinions, but all are patriots, the oldest of whom fought under the banner of your illustrious grandfather and in the armies of Garibaldi for the independence and unity of Italy.

But the Society believes that the dolorous series of armed conflicts ought to be closed among civilized nations, and that questions of nationality and whatever new controversies may arise between states can be settled according to reason and the methods of justice.

For many years the chief effort of our Society was directed toward turning aside the peril of a great war, which every spring appeared on the horizon of Europe. Now such a war is no longer to be feared. Economic problems and the interests of the laboring classes have taken, in the deliberations of governments, the place formerly occupied by the problems of war. It seems, then, that the hour has arrived to take in hand resolutely the better harmonization of the interests of the populations with the institutions which control them, the ideals of civilization and peace, — which all the state and government leaders say that they desire, — by the means by which they may be best and most speedily brought into harmony.

Being therefore assured that we speak the sentiments